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Mandela Envisions Regime of Reconciliation and Consensus

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela has laid out a vision of his government as a grand negotiating forum in which every party will have a voice, past crimes will be forgiven and the power of the majority will be used.

Rather than a dramatic break with the past, or a frantic first 100 days, Mr. Mandela said in interviews last week, the first themes of his new presidency will be reconciliation and consensus.

Defenders of apartheid would be pardoned for crimes, he promised. Anxious ethnic minorities would retain their jobs and cultures. Big business would play an influential role in shaping economic policy. The departing pres-

ident, Frederik W. de Klerk, and other bold-overs from the white government would be trusted partners in the cabinet.

Even the racist outlaws of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, whose members have been accused by the police in a spate of pre-election bombings aimed at sabotaging the transition, would not be banned but invited to the bargaining table, he said.

He promised that there would be no dismantling of monuments or symbols cherished by whites, no renaming of streets and cities, without "very intense, patient, serious discussion."

And as for the yearning of some black nationalists to rechristen the country Azania, Mr. Mandela called this "farfetched."

Mr. Mandela's concept of the new government sounded remarkably like a continuation

of the negotiating partnership forged since Mr. de Klerk released him from prison four years ago. That process, involving more than 20 parties, produced an interim constitution and the first all-race elections.

"Even if we may emerge with a landslide victory, we have to be very careful and not create the fear that the majority is going to be used for the purpose of coercing minorities to accept the policy of a particular party which has emerged victorious," Mr. Mandela said.

Outlining his program of reconciliation, Mr. Mandela made these points:

• Most white police officers and others who killed or tortured in defense of apartheid would be given indemnity for their crimes and would not be publicly named. Only authorities of the most recent crimes would not be eligible for pardon.

• The new government would continue to subsidize schools run for ethnic minorities, including white Afrikaners. Although the emphasis would be on upgrading black schools and promoting "nonracial" education, he said, "we believe that by recognizing diversity we will actually be uniting the people of South Africa."

• He would support "a simple, low tax" because high taxes would scare off foreign investors. But if forced to choose between raising taxes and curtailing his party's promises, he would raise taxes.

Mr. Mandela said the African National Congress's "reconstruction" program of housing, jobs and free education — which the party estimates would cost \$12 billion but which critics say could cost twice that — was "the minimum policy."

"It is inconceivable that at any time we will cut down on that policy," he said.

Many whites mistrust Mr. Mandela's talk of a consensus-oriented Cincinnatian, and many of his followers think it is a recipe for paralysis.

But Mr. Mandela was insistent that the same patient negotiations that produced the constitution and elections could be used to balance the rival imperatives of his government — the need to raise the hopes of impoverished blacks, and the need to prevent skilled whites from quitting or resisting.

He said he viewed the unity government as a five-year expedient, after which the country should revert to majority democracy in which

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ANC Predicts 'Big Victory,' Gets 55% of Early Results

But It Is Falling Short Of Two-Thirds Majority Needed to Write Charter

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress predicted a "big victory" on Sunday in South Africa's election, but it appeared that it would not gain the two-thirds majority needed to write a post-apartheid constitution on its own.

With 21 percent of the vote counted by mid-evening on Sunday, the ANC had 54.7 percent, followed by 31.8 percent for the National Party of President Frederik W. de Klerk. The Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party was a distant third with 4.5 percent, followed by the pro-apartheid Freedom Front at 3.7 percent.

Officials said complete results might not be available until Monday.

"We are heading for a very big ANC victory," said Pallo Jordan, a spokesman. He predicted a 58 percent majority but added that more gains were possible and "could result in a rise to 60 percent or more."

He also refused to rule out a two-thirds majority that under the interim constitution would give the ANC absolute power in the government of national unity.

The result of South Africa's first nonracial election had never been seriously doubted. With 18 million first-time black voters swamping the polls, led by Nelson Mandela, was always only a step from power.

The size of the step, and who would come second in the coalition, will govern for the next five years, was the big question. First results appeared to show a clear trend.

The ANC was well in front, even though results were pending from most of the black townships where it is strongest.

The National Party, which institutionalized apartheid 40 years ago but discarded it when Mr. de Klerk came to power, was running a solid second. The others in the field were also.

The initial results were heavily influenced by quick counts from the few areas where the predominantly white parties were strongest, notably the Western Cape, where apartheid's legacy has left the majority mixed-race population fearful of black rule.

Trouble was feared in Cape Town's black townships as prospects of a National Party provincial government, perhaps the last mainly white administration in Africa.

"The people in the townships feel betrayed, and they just want to fight it out," said an ANC regional official, Tony Yengeni.

The mass of results were held back by bureaucratic delays and muddle at many counting stations, where officials were overwhelmed by numbers and their own inexperience.

Poll analysts stressed that too few results had come in to project a final outcome reliably, but were generally in line with the ANC's projected winning margin. They expected the National Party to slip back toward 24 percent as the black township results cascaded in.

An ANC landslide of more than 66 percent would send tremors through business circles still suspicious of the ANC's communist and labor union allies and socialist tendencies.

The ANC led handsomely in six of South Africa's nine provinces and narrowly in one — the rural, remote Northern Cape.

It trailed Inkatha in KwaZulu-Natal, which has been divided by a decade of virtually civil war between Zulu followers of each party.

At least five people, including a 6-year-old

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Ayrton Senna, the three-time world Formula One champion, being rushed to a hospital Sunday after crashing at the San Marino Grand Prix in Imola, Italy. He died four hours later.

Suddenly, Death Returns to Formula One Auto Racing

By Ian Thomassen
International Herald Tribune

Ayrton Senna of Brazil, the 34-year-old three-time champion of Formula One racing, died from injuries suffered in a crash at the San Marino Grand Prix on Sunday.

The accident happened 400 meters from the curve where Roland Ratzenberger, a 31-year-old Austrian driver, was killed during a qualifying run Saturday at the track in Imola, Italy.

The deaths, the first at a Formula One event since 1982, destroyed the illusion built over the preceding 12 years that the life-threatening aspects of the sport had been eliminated.

Around Tuzla, for example, the Danish troops, part of the United Nations' Nordic

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edics should be blamed on the Dino and Enzo Ferrari Autodrome at Imola — among the fastest in Formula One — or, perhaps, on new rules to limit car engineering that are making greater demands of the drivers. This was only the third race under those rules.

Former stars called on the drivers to form a union that would exercise control over the sport.

"They will then be able represent themselves against sports authorities, and, united, they could refuse to drive on a bad circuit," said Jackie Stewart of Scotland, another former three-time world champion. "What happened at Imola during the weekend showed the circuit was dangerous. At Imola, you can go 150 miles

per hour everywhere and when you spin off, you hit a wall."

That is what happened to Senna, at 250 kilometers per hour. Doctors at Maggiore hospital in Bologna said his forehead was crushed, causing widespread injuries that made surgery impossible. The Associated Press reported.

"Senna's heart stopped beating at 1840," Dr. Maria Teresa Fiamandi said. "We did all we could. These are events which upset us, too."

Another Brazilian driver, Rubens Barrichello, escaped with only a broken nose after his car vaulted from the track and into a wall during qualifying on Friday. And still another accident preceded Senna's on Sunday, when J.J. Lehto of Finland stalled his Benetton on the

starting grid and was hit from behind by the rapidly accelerating Lotus of Portugal's Pedro Lamy, wrecking both cars and scattering debris.

The two drivers were apparently unhurt in that accident, but at least five people were reportedly injured by a fire that flew into the grandstand.

The race continued in a slow jog behind a safety car as the mess was cleared. For five ominous laps the other cars filed behind the leader, Senna, under pressure after having failed to complete the first two events of the season.

High-speed racing had resumed for just one

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Palestinians 'Not Ready,' Israelis Warn

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — As Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization pressed to wrap up their negotiations, Israeli leaders said Sunday that the Palestinians were not prepared to assume authority in the areas targeted for the start of their self-rule: the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

The criticism was rejected by an adviser to Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, and it apparently had no effect on both sides' commitment to end months of negotiating and finally sign a self-government agreement on Wednesday in Cairo.

Nonetheless, comments from Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and other senior officials here as expressing concern to his cabinet ministers that technical arrangements were still incomplete for shifting authority from Israeli authorities to the Palestinians. The fault lay with the Palestinians, he claims. The reportedly said because they had not attended meetings designed to smooth the transition on security and civil matters that have been in the hands of the Israeli military since it captured the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 Middle East war.

"We urged them to be ready to step into the territories to start taking over," Environment

Minister Yossi Sarid said after the weekly cabinet meeting. "Unfortunately, they didn't do that. But we are very much determined to leave as soon as possible, and a week or 10 days after the agreement, we'll be out."

A key concern, several officials said, is the possibility of dangerous flashpoints as the Israeli Army starts pulling back to designated areas around Jewish settlements in Gaza and a new Palestinian police force of 9,000 officers begins to move into the refugee districts and towns that the Israeli will evacuate.

Assuming the signing ceremony goes according to plan on Wednesday, Israeli forces are expected to start withdrawing as soon as Thursday. That same day, about 2,000 Palestinian armed police officers are supposed to enter the territories — 1,500 in the Gaza Strip and 500 in Jericho, officials said. Since they will need some time to become familiar with the terrain, it was not clear when those officers will actually take up their posts.

According to Israeli radio, the army chief of staff, Lieutenant General Ehud Barak, told

cabinet members that the Israeli evacuation should be carried out as quickly as possible because, he said, inadequate coordination between Israel and the PLO on transferring authority could present dangers to his soldiers if they stay where they are.

Army officers say that since they have already shifted large amounts of equipment, they can clear out their troops in a day or two, if ordered to do so. But some civilian officials said that two weeks or so might be a more realistic target. However much time it takes, the officials made clear that they intend to leave Jericho fast and — even more eagerly — Gaza, a rolling area that relatively few Israelis will miss.

Palestinian administrators have yet to be named, and there is concern among Palestinians as well as Israelis about whether Mr. Arafat will fill positions on the basis of competence or cronyism. Nabil Qassis, who coordinates 30 technical committee formed by the PLO for the transition period, said, "As an academic, I

passing the West's most closely held secrets to the KGB, before fleeing to Moscow in 1963 just as he was about to be uncovered.

"I have had official passes to seven major intelligence headquarters," Philby told his audience of Soviet spymasters in 1977, reciting an inventory of four British and three American agencies, including the CIA and the FBI, where he had access as the British liaison officer in Washington in the early 1950s.

"There, I always felt myself surrounded by wolves; here, I know that I am with comrades, colleagues and friends."

As the sum of a man's life, the collected memorabilia of Philby, who died in Moscow

Kiosk

German Socialist Faces Spy Charges

BONN (AP) — A former senior official of the Social Democratic Party's parliamentary group has been accused of spying for East Germany, press reports said Sunday. Charges against Karl Wienand, 67, have been prepared and he could be formally accused soon, the news magazine Focus and Der Spiegel reported.

Bridge Books

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Zbigniew Brzezinski and Michael Sturmer offer their views in the second and third articles in a series on the future of the American-European relationship. Page 5.

U.S. Delays Issuing Ultimatum To China on Electronic Piracy

By Peter Behr
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration has put off an expected ultimatum to China over piracy of music, movies and computer software, rather than risk aggravating its larger conflict with Beijing over trade and human rights.

U.S. trade officials repeatedly had warned China that it would be cited for its failure to crack down on companies that illegally copy and export \$800 million of so-called intellectual property, in violation of copyright and trademark laws and agreements, each year.

Designating China a "priority" offender in this area would have led to retaliation against Chinese goods this year if the practices continued.

But, after an intense series of meetings and phone calls among U.S. officials, including President Bill Clinton, the action was delayed Saturday until July 1 — well after the deadline

of June 3 for a U.S. decision on whether to continue Beijing's low-tariff trade privileges.

Mr. Clinton has said he would cancel China's most-favored-nation trading status if it had not made "significant progress" on respecting human rights by June 3. Administration officials have said China has not yet met Mr. Clinton's conditions, which include an accounting of political prisoners and ending mistreatment of dissidents and religious groups.

The administration also gave Japan 60 more days to address U.S. complaints about its government procurement practices. U.S. manufacturers of telecommunications and medical equipment complain that they do not have the chance to compete fairly for government business in Japan.

The delay on the piracy issue suggested an unwillingness to provoke China's leaders, whose next moves on human rights could either help salvage Mr. Clinton's China policy or

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Kim Philby's Spy Memorabilia Come Out of the Cold at Sotheby's

By William E. Schmidt
New York Times Service

LONDON — There's a faded bombshell hat and a silver cocktail shaker, a battered cigarette box and piles of books and papers — citations from Soviet intelligence officials, an exchange of correspondence with a young field agent under cover in London, even the typed draft of a speech delivered inside KGB headquarters 17 years ago.

Gathered for cataloging inside Sotheby's here, these are the surviving personal effects of Harold Adrian Russell (Kim) Philby, arguably Britain's most infamous traitor.

As a high-ranking British intelligence officer, he spent the better part of two decades

in 1988, do not seem like much. Culled from his Moscow apartment for sale and auction by his Russian widow, the collection fills only a dozen or so shelves inside Sotheby's, where it will be put up for public auction in July.

In an interview over the weekend with The Independent on Sunday, a London newspaper, Rufina Philby said she had decided to auction the materials because she needs the money.

"It will improve my life if I can buy juice or fruit or one lemon," she said. "I think I can very quickly eat the money." Sotheby's hopes the sale will raise about \$150,000.

For someone whose life and career had been lived as a deep and abiding secret, a

Soviet double agent burrowed at the heart of the British-U.S. intelligence establishment, it is surprising, in another way, that Kim Philby has now left so much of himself behind.

Among the papers and photographs, documents and books, a much more complete picture can now be drawn of Philby as double agent, and especially of the last 25 years he spent in Moscow, after British intelligence in Berlin finally discovered his betrayal.

What does seem clear from the materials is that Philby continued to spend his remaining years in Moscow in the active service of his employers, using

THE AMERICAS / AN ACADEMY ISSUE



A Tijuana investigator inspecting the cab of a pickup truck in which the city's police chief was killed.

The Plot Thickens in Mexico

Murdered Police Chief Was Investigating Colosio's Death

By Tod Robberson

Washington Post Service

TIJUANA, Mexico — José Félix Benítez's mouth dropped open as he reached into his desk drawer to retrieve a file folder of information he had gathered on suspects in the March 23 assassination of Mexico's leading presidential candidate.

"It's gone!" the Tijuana police chief said, astonished to find that an information sheet devoted to one particular suspect — José Roldán Rivapalacio, a former local and state police official — had disappeared from the folder that had been locked in his desk.

Mr. Benítez told an assistant to retrieve a separate file on the suspect from a larger basement archive, but the assistant returned to say that file had also disappeared.

"We have a real problem here," the police chief said. "This isn't the first time it's happened."

Mr. Benítez charged that someone clearly had tampered with evidence he had been collecting in a secret, independent investigation of the killing of the ruling party's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio.

Just 36 hours later, last Thursday night, Mr. Benítez and his bodyguard were shot and killed by unidentified gunmen near the neighborhood where Mr. Colosio was assassinated. Seven people have been detained in connection with the assassination but the police declined to give any further information about the detentions or speculate on a motive.

No evidence has surfaced directly linking Mr. Benítez's death to the Colosio case, but the missing files

added yet another element to a tangled assassination investigation.

Authorities from competing federal, state and local jurisdictions continue to spar publicly amid charges by officials here that the investigation is being manipulated for political purposes.

For Mr. Benítez, as well as the federal special prosecutor, Miguel Montes, the investigation into Mr. Colosio's death had focused on the 45-member local security detail organized by the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party, known as PRI, to provide crowd control during the candidate's visit here. The security detail had been organized by Mr. Rivapalacio, a local PRI official.

Mr. Colosio was shot twice at point-blank range as he passed through a crowd of 3,000 supporters in the impoverished Tijuana neighborhood of Lomas Taurinas.

Mr. Montes, using videotapes and professional lip-readers and other photographic evidence, has charged that Mr. Rivapalacio and at least three other members of the PRI security detail assisted the gunman, Mario Aburto Martínez, by conspiring to block Mr. Colosio's personal bodyguards and obstruct the candidate's path so Mr. Aburto could gain access to him.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's administration has maintained that Mr. Aburto was the only gunman, and sources close to the investigation said the government was trying to distance itself from Mr. Montes's conspiracy theory.

The sources said that Mr. Montes's evidence would not stand up in court and that because of this a federal judge in mid-April reduced

charges against four suspects and ordered the release from jail of three others for lack of evidence. The federal special prosecutor has protested the actions and has vowed to pursue the conspiracy investigation for political purposes.

Mr. Benítez's investigation had turned up evidence connecting several members of the security detail with criminal organizations operating in Tijuana, but he said he was unable to find proof that they participated in a conspiracy. But in previous interviews the Tijuana police chief suggested that two gunmen may have been involved.

Among the questionable aspects of the single-gunner explanation: The official autopsy report says a bullet entered Mr. Colosio's skull from his right side, but the bullet that entered his abdomen was fired from his left side toward the right. For a single gunman to have fired both shots, Mr. Colosio would have had to spin 180 degrees, with Mr. Aburto still unimpaired.

Both Mr. Montes and Mr. Benítez had focused their investigations on the backgrounds of the 45-member PRI security detail, code-named Tucan, that was providing crowd control at the Lomas Taurinas rally.

Mr. Benítez asserted that many members of the Tucan force were corrupt former state and local politicians dismissed from their jobs for illegal activities. He said at least 16 were former local policemen "who were not known for their honesty or professional integrity."

All of the Tucan members were known as PRI activists, and Mr. Rivapalacio for years has held prominent positions in the party.

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A Lesson for Air Force Cadets

General Acts Quickly on Sex Harassment

By Eric Schmitt

New York Times Service

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colorado — Over the last year, as the navy has reeled under the Tailhook scandal, the Air Force Academy here has been facing up to its own sexual harassment crisis. But the reaction, and the results, could hardly be more different.

Since February 1993, when a female freshman at the Air Force Academy told campus authorities that several young men had sexually assaulted her, a dozen other women have stepped forward to lodge complaints ranging from date rape to fondling.

As a result of investigations into the complaints, an instructor and a cadet have been court-martialed and jailed for sexual misconduct. Three other cadets have resigned and three more have been disciplined. Sensitivity training has been increased. And a 24-hour confidential sexual-assault hot line is up and running.

All branches of the military are struggling to eliminate sexual harassment, with varying degrees of success. But the Air Force Academy's experience shows what a difference the top leader makes.

Nine days after the assault, the academy's superintendent, Lieutenant General Bradley C. Hosmer, gathered most of the academy's 518 female cadets in the campus auditorium. He ordered his male aides to leave, and even ejected two men in the projection booth.

Then he removed his insignia of rank and promised the women confidentiality in exchange for the "ground truth" about sexual harassment on the campus. For nearly four emotionally charged hours, the women poured out their fears and grievances in response to General Hosmer's questions on how many had experienced sexual assault or other forms of harassment, or knew someone who had.

"Women were angry that the academy hadn't done something before this," said Cadet Rebecca Sonkiss, a 21-year-old senior from White Lake, Michigan, who will enter flight school this summer.

"We came here naive and trust-

ing, thinking that we'd be protected by the people around us," said Cadet Adelle Belisle, 21, a senior from Yarmouth, Maine, who is planning a medical career. "It was shocking. We all know of cases of sexual harassment here."

General Hosmer, a Rhodes Scholar and former inspector general of the air force, was a member of the academy's first graduating class in 1959 and the first alumna to head the institution. He said in a recent interview that he had sensed "warning indicators" of problems, but was "stunned and disappointed" at what he heard.

The Air Force Academy acted quickly. Officials offered counseling to harassment victims. General Hosmer summoned 10 additional air force investigators to assist the four permanently assigned agents to examine the complaints.

A male senior was court-martialed for assaulting a female civilian.

A male instructor who was a major was court-martialed for having had consensual sex with a female freshman.

The 4,000-member cadet wing was divided into focus groups of 8 to 12 men and women to discuss sexual harassment and leadership ethics.

"I learned more about human relations in the past semester than I did in the previous four years," said James Davis, a senior from Millen, Georgia.

In July, the academy created a center for character development to bring fragmented ethics, honor code and human relations training under one department. Last fall the philosophy department offered a new course, "Gender, Race and Human Dignity."

More changes are in the works.

Singapore Responds To Critics of Caning

By Philip Shonan

New York Times Service

SINGAPORE — Amid overwhelming signs that an American teenager is about to be caned here for spray-painting cars, the Singapore government issued its first official account on Sunday of how the punishment would be carried out.

The American, Michael Fay, 18, is in prison here awaiting word on his appeal to the government for clemency. Every indication from the government is that it will reject the appeal.

The description of a caning, complete with a diagram, that shows a man tied down by his

hands and ankles as he is caned, was published on Sunday in *The Straits Times*, a government-affiliated newspaper, and appeared to be an effort to persuade critics that the punishment is not as brutal as some news accounts have suggested.

Until Sunday, the government had declined to answer detailed questions about the procedures followed in a caning, a punishment introduced in Singapore by the British colonials and still applied for a variety of crimes, ranging from rape to vandalism to overstaying a visa.

The statement from the Singapore Prisons Department said that "caning does not cause skin and flesh to fly, as alleged by critics — it may, however, leave bruises and marks."

Prisoners who have been through a caning say the scars are permanent, and many go into shock from the intense pain of the caning, which tears open the skin and causes copious bleeding.

According to the government statement, leather cuffs are used to strap a prisoner's wrists and ankles to a wooden trestle. A "pillow pad" is placed over his lower back to prevent injury to areas above the buttocks.

The Straits Times quoted a spokesman for the Prisons Department as saying that while the jailer who performs the caning is not necessarily a martial arts expert, "some officials may have taken up martial arts training to keep themselves fit and for self-defense."

The raitan cane is 1.2 meters (4 feet) long and 13 millimeters (half an inch) thick. According to the government, it is soaked in water to prevent it from splitting during the punishment and is treated with an antiseptic.

Away From Politics

• Hunting a mountain lion that killed and partially ate a jogger, California park rangers closed the area where Barbara Schoener, 40, died a week ago. Rangers said anyone found in the Auburn State Recreation Area would be cited for trespassing. She was the first person killed by a cougar in California this century.

• In the Michael Jackson child molestation investigation, a Santa Barbara County grand jury that spent three months on the case has disbanded without announcing any action. Mr. Jackson's lawyer said. Mr. Jackson remains under investigation by a Los Angeles County grand jury.

• The number of U.S. murders rose 3 percent last year, but violent crimes edged lower, the FBI said. Preliminary findings said violent incidents overall declined 1 percent in 1993. That would mean about 1.91 million violent crimes occurred, or roughly the same number as in 1991. There were 1.93 million violent crimes reported in 1992.

• In the World Trade Center bombing, a New York judge postponed to May 25 the sentencing of the four men convicted. The four face up to life in prison without parole on their convictions last month for conspiracy in the Feb. 26, 1993, bombing, which killed six people and injured more than 1,000.

• To tighten defense against illegal immigration, Governor Pete Wilson of California said he would more than triple the number of National Guard troops deployed at the California-Mexico border to help the Border Patrol.

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International Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

South Africa Reborn

What might have been a nightmare in South Africa turned into a peaceful festival of democracy. Having waited 300 years to vote, millions of blacks shrugged off threats of extremists and waited for hours without complaint during an election week when their country was literally reborn. On Wednesday, the old flag was struck and a new banner rose over a united South Africa whose first moments shone with hope.

"It's an incredible experience," said Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel laureate, on casting his first vote — "like falling in love."

Linda Khula, a local magistrate in Durban, reported that ballots delivered on an extra voting day had been able to reach remote rural areas. "It's like the birth of a baby," she said. "problems, anxiety and joy." And all this was evident to millions of viewers watching the drama unwind on television.

As dramatic and moving was the sight of blacks and whites standing side by side in the same polling queue. The Nazi-style Afrikaner Resistance Movement looked more ridiculous than fearsome in feeble protest rallies. With what seems to have been diligent work by police — now defending free elections rather than apartheid — 31 white right-wingers were arrested and charged with 21 bombing deaths on the eve of the vote.

Full marks, therefore, to President F. W. de Klerk's interim government and to the Independent Electoral Commission for assuring the security and integrity of this wa-

tershed election. Whatever ballot shortages or other mishaps occurred seem the innocent result of inadequate census figures or predictable disorganization.

Ful marks as well to Nelson Mandela, the likely next president, for working hard with Mr. de Klerk to bring the reluctant Zulu chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his Inkatha Freedom Party into the canvass.

Wide participation was essential to establish the legitimacy of this first ever election open to all South Africans. Nineteen parties were on the national ballot, and 26 parties on nine regional ballots, a fair reflection of a diverse electorate of 23 million speaking a dozen languages.

A weighted system of proportional voting in which run-up parties are assured a share of cabinet seats puts a premium on hard bargaining and realistic compromise.

Mr. Mandela, whose calm eloquence contributed mightily to this moment, is already touching the right chord for the next moment. While making plain that the first priority for the new government is to narrow the chasm between the privileged and the oppressed, he also declares: "We are building a country. Our slogan is let the past be the past ... Let us promote the spirit of conciliation."

And that is the man previous South African governments strove to silence and smear as a seditionist. History's clock has truly moved forward in South Africa.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

A Sequel to NAFTA

With fanfare, the three North American governments have announced a system of stronger financial shock absorbers to damp down the swings and lurches in the three exchange rates. It is a natural sequel to NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement that went into effect at the beginning of the year. As a practical matter, it means more U.S. and Canadian support for the Mexican peso, which has been sagging under the weight of political turbulence and an approaching election. It is not a new kind of help. The United States has for decades had various arrangements to assist Mexico in steadyng its currency. These new agreements only make the provisions a bit more formal and reliable.

Why help Mexico? Because a stable currency is good for the expanding trade that is the whole point of NAFTA. And because, more broadly, stable prosperity in Mexico is good for employment in U.S. export industries and cuts down illegal immigration northward. The peso is somewhat overvalued and will probably decline as time passes. But the idea is to keep the movement gradual and predictable, rather than allowing it to bounce around wildly in response to political shocks — not only the recent assassination of the

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Clinton and Macedonia

Greece is slowly strangling independent Macedonia's economy with a dangerously misguided blockade. The collapsing economy, in turn, is generating explosive friction among Macedonia's diverse peoples, which could endanger the lives of 500 American peacekeepers dispatched to Macedonia to contain ethnic strife. The risk should have moved President Bill Clinton to press Greece to lift the blockade when he met with Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou last week. Instead he reportedly bowed to the Greek-American lobby, well placed in Congress and the White House, and soft-pedaled his opposition to Greece's perverse policy.

Macedonia is where Belgrade's ambitions to incorporate the republic into Greater Serbia run smack into competing territorial claims. Albania and Bulgaria historically have sought to absorb much of the same territory, and Greek nationalists also have their eyes on that prize. The Greek government fears that the intense rivalry could endanger Greece's hold on its own part of Macedonia. But Athens is letting its hysteria over history rob it of sound judgment.

During much of this century, Macedonia has been divided between northern Greece and Yugoslavia. In the late 1940s, Yugoslavia, allied with Greece's Communists, tried

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Clinton Needs Expert Coaching

(Bill) Clinton does not care for foreign policy; and, despite Warren Christopher's shufflings, the president has no Henry Kissinger to do his leading for him. Like seeks like. But Mr. Clinton, bereft of instincts in foreign policy, needs to be coached by an expert to do the job the world requires of him. And, to be effective, expert coaching requires what the president is not prepared to give: time, thought and application.

If the president could change — and this is highly uncertain — he would soon discern a middle road between hooking up his world view to public opinion, and paying no attention to it. He could lead by persuading and

— The Economist (London).

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Make the Rwandan Killers' Bosses Halt This Genocide

By Holly J. Burkhalter

WASHINGTON — The magnitude of the slaughter in Rwanda is so great that the international community has thrown up its hands and averted its eyes. The UN Security Council unanimously decided to reduce its peacekeeping force to a skeleton presence. Most foreigners have fled the country.

Incredibly, the government of France has received a delegation of the self-proclaimed "government" of Rwanda. This tacit acceptance of one of the most extraordinary atrocities of our decade is immoral, illegal and cynical.

The systematic extermination of the minority Tutsi population in Rwanda is genocide, and the International Covenant on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide requires something better.

An appropriate and wholly realistic international approach to this tragedy begins by recognizing that the violence that has engulfed Rwanda since the plane crash that killed President Juvenal Habyarimana on April 6 was planned and predictable.

Rwandan human rights activists and opposition political figures had been under attack for months by hard-liners around General Habyarimana. Within hours of his assassination — most likely at the hands of extremists within his own government — harridans went up around Kigali, and targeted political and ethnic assassinations by the army and militia began.

Another sign of the carnage to come was the creation of the militia by Rwanda's ruling National Revolutionary Movement for Progress and the closely affiliated Coalition for the Defense of the Republic (CDR). Last year the army handed out guns to thousands of young militiamen, with orders to kill Tutsis.

Official radio broadcasts throughout the country called upon listeners to attack political dissidents and all Tutsis. In recent weeks, broadcasts have contained such lurid incitements: "The graves are only half full! Who will help us fill them?"

Clear evidence of the direct responsibility of the Rwandan authorities may be seen in Butare Province in southern Rwanda. Despite the massacres in Kigali in the weeks after the assassination of the president, Butare remained calm for two weeks. The person responsible for maintaining order and discouraging communal violence was the province's governor, a member of the political opposition and the only Tutsi governor in Rwanda.

And the United Nations Security Council should issue a

resolution stating that a government which commits genocide in the bodies of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans cannot be in place in the world community.

In addition, the United Nations should encourage its diplomatic efforts in Rwanda to accomplish what the Organization of African Unity has done with regard to the command and deliver a stern message about the consequences of butchery that has continued day and night.

Priests who escaped to neighboring Burundi reported to Human Rights Watch that the militia and army attacked a group of 6,000 Tutsis who had taken refuge at the church of Cyangugu, of whom 200 survived.

Clergy from the diocese of Cyangugu report 4,000 murdered in the parish of Shangi, 2,000 at Mibirizi and 800 at Nkanya, in Gikongoro, between Butare and Cyangugu, about 4,000 were killed at the church of Kibeho.

Since Rwandan political and military figures deliberately launched these massacres and many others, they must be called upon to stop them.

Among those who have the power to halt the slaughter are Colonel Bagosora, the military officer in charge during the first days of the massacre, Colonel Augustin Bizimungu, then minister of defense and now commander in chief of the Rwandan armed forces, Captain Paschal Simbikangwa, who commands the militia, Colonel Nkundwe, and Colonel Mpanga, head of the army's presidential guard.

On April 22, the White House took the unusual step of issuing a statement identifying these individuals by name and calling upon them to "do everything in their power to end the violence immediately." The international community should add its voice to Washington's.

Heads of state around the world should denounce these individuals by name and call upon them to end the carnage or face an international tribunal.

France, in particular, has a responsibility to use its significant leverage with the Rwandan army to press it to call off the killings, since France has been its chief weapons supplier and military trainer in recent years.

The writer, Washington director of Human Rights Watch, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

For White and Black, a Hopeful Start in the Beloved Country

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — South Africa's astonishing elections end three centuries of white rule in Africa, Portuguese explorers, British administrators, French legions and others came and went. Now the Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites of South Africa attempt to endure by accepting Afrikaner rule. South Africa is the only big country on the continent where ending white supremacy does not necessarily mean ending the sizable white presence that exercised power.

The world, and South Africa, will be a better place if the whites survive and prosper there. The Afrikaners will try to save themselves by abandoning apartheid — the last and cruelest form of white rule practiced in Africa — rather than abandoning a country granted natural resources, scenic beauty and human conflict of biblical proportions.

The 3 million Afrikaners had little choice but to adapt. They have no European metropolis to which to return, as did the British, French and Portuguese. And, as President F. W. de Klerk told President Bill Clinton at the White House last year, the white leadership finally recognized that apartheid's grand scheme of splitting South Africa's 40 million people into white and black "nations" would not work.

The Afrikaners have held a monopoly of power since 1948, have seen the fiercely

discriminating by class and economic power would be a more rational way of running the Beloved Country than discriminating by race.

The Afrikaners, whose patriarchs arrived from the Netherlands in 1652, have for most of the past three centuries tried to have it both ways. They have often portrayed themselves as historically unique, a tribe of white men who wandered into the vast and arid interior of their country to escape British rule and who are as African as the black tribes they encountered. This is a sample of what sixth graders were long taught from the standard Afrikaans history text:

"Then the Lord planted a new nation at the southern tip of Africa ... This people was to stand on the verge of being wiped out in many cases and yet was to be saved in a wonderful manner ... From the political clashes of this new nation, its special characteristics will become apparent — its striving for freedom and racial purity."

But Afrikaners also keenly felt their European origins, however far removed in time. As the "winds of change" swept colonialism away elsewhere in Africa, the Afrikaners argued that they were the guardians of Western civilization on a threatening continent who

must be supported by other white nations.

America's decision to impose an economic embargo three decades ago and economic sanctions afterward shattered that pretense. The disapproval of the world civilization that the Afrikaners claimed to represent helped force them to change, although the pressing sanctions created were probably a lesser force for change.

Peaceful change would not have been possible, however, without the extraordinary moderate leadership of Nelson Mandela and the patience of the African majority. That patience was visible in the television film of lines stretching miles and miles in which people waited eight hours of more to vote.

One television commentator called the scenes biblical, and for once that was not overstatement. What has happened in South Africa since Mr. Mandela was freed three years ago is biblical in scope and significance.

It does not make up for the fact of white exploitation and repression in Africa, but it does provide both whites and blacks a chance to overcome the current bitter legacy of white rule on the continent by building a new multiracial society.

The Washington Post

Nixon: Not Wrong About Détente, Not Right About Indochina

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — Richard Nixon's death catches the evolving search for a true American foreign policy at a point of some embarrassment to the late president, some of it undue.

The debate with the Soviet Union, including the opening to China that helped incline "the Kremlin" to détente in the first place, is no longer regarded as the bold breakthrough that it was.

The other side feels that the ultimate enemy was communism, in which case the purpose of policy was to find strategically effective and politically acceptable ways to do the enemy in.

People rightly argue over what were the foreign sources and what were the domestic sources of the disintegration of Soviet power. Mr. Reagan had the advantage of balance of power; he built American global strategy on containment of the Soviet Union, partly by confrontation and partly by partnership. Both parts inevitably conferred status and preference on the partner.

The real breakthrough came only with Ronald Reagan. He was a radical who stigmatized the notions of coexistence, parity and partnership as artificial props for communism and the Soviet empire. He favored confrontation, but it made safer the nuclear confrontation that was always the rawest and most dangerous aspect of the Cold War. But nowadays Mr. Nixon's détente is increasingly seen as a transitional time-buying phase.

Besides its undoubted accomplishments, it added to the legitimacy of Communism and lengthened its life. It helped a cracking, structurally

destitute Mr. Nixon's harder version or in Jimmy Carter's softer version was an essential investment in dispute solving and nuclear sanity. This is where Mr. Nixon built his reputation for toughness and savvy.

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And so they put on a funeral that was also a rally. It included four former presidents, one sitting president, old drinking buddies like Bobo Rebozo, old colleagues like Rose Mary Woods and old political enemies like George McGovern, people who

were large and needs no apology. He recognized and responded to the global nuclear anxieties that, dear young readers, were the controlling high-polity reality at that time.

He treated these anxieties by political dialogue and by arms control.

The latter accords (including SALT I and the ABM Treaty) did not all hold up well to later political weathering, but they provided valuable comfort at the time.

Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy remains a nest of ironies. Obsessed with avoiding defeat and national humiliation, he thought cut-and-run would invite the Kremlin to maneuver elsewhere. He devised a four-year withdrawal strategy meant to leave South Vietnam standing, with American aid but defending itself. But what he had to do, in Cambodia, Laos, Haiphong and Hanoi, to make this strategy work exhausted his political capital, and Congress repudiated aid. North Vietnam took over.

Détente did inflict humiliation and encourage further Kremlin maneuvering in Central America and in Africa. Defeat did inflict humiliation and encourage further Kremlin maneuvering in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan.

The Washington Post

women what they made of the quote, but to me it was a vivid reminder of Mr. Nixon's capacity to stir wildly different emotions, of the difficulties that await future historians, and of how little we really learn about a person at his funeral.

"Never be petty," he said then. "Always remember, others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them — and then you destroy yourself." This has been cited often in recent days, usually by Nixon loyalists to whom it is proof of his capacity to rise above the base level of political infighting, to forgive and forget and thus move on to another day. To me, however, it is yet another example of his impulse (not uncommon among politicians or even journalists) to touch up one's self-portrait. Richard Nixon's downfall occurred precisely because

Genocide

The Untimely Exclusion of Germany and Russia From a Friendly Fete

By Zbigniew Brzezinski

Special to the Herald Tribune
The writer is the former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter. His most recent book is "Out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21st Century."

and a statement of fact that the freedom and security of both the United States and Europe are organically linked — nowadays and for the last 45 years in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is essential that this link remains vital.

Beyond that, the quality of Europe's security — and Europeans' own subjective sense of it — will be determined largely by the degree to which Germany remains permanently anchored in an integrating Europe and the extent to which Russia is linked constructively to a bigger and more secure Europe.

For nearly 50 years, Western policy has aimed at the fullest, deepest integration of Germany into an emerging community of West European nations and the Euro-Atlantic alliance. For the last five years, Western policy has sought to forge increasingly cooperative links with Russia.

These two goals reflect a double realization: both these countries are destined to continue playing major roles in European affairs, but neither is likely to play constructively if the geopolitical context creates tempting options for national self-assertion, especially if European temptations are exacerbated by a sense of exclusion.

Germany has been a good citizen

of Europe for decades now. That accolade must be emphasized. Germany has loyalty and generously supported Europe's security and is the only NATO member with all its forces fully integrated into the joint command. It has been willing to prop up French pride in order to foster a far-reaching French-German reconciliation, which in turn became both foundation and catalyst for progressive unification in Europe.

At the same time, Germany has managed to serve as the linchpin for continued U.S. military presence on the Continent. The Washington-Bonn connection has not been diluted or even strained by Franco-German political leadership in promoting Europe's integration. Last but by no means least, Germany has demonstrated a genuine commitment to democracy. For example, no country has more humane, liberal immigration laws. Germany must sustain that course if Europe is to enjoy stability in the new, post-Cold War era.

Germany's circumstances — and psychological mood — are changing, but neither is likely to be renewed. The approaching 50th anniversary of the end of World War II in 1995 will mark a milestone in generational change. This year becomes a major historical watershed

with the departure of the last Russian soldier from German soil. Without casting aspersions of any sort, there is clearly a risk, in some circumstances, that Germany could be tempted to diverge from the path it has so responsibly pursued for the last several decades.

Might not at least some Germans soon begin to resent the presence of American troops, claiming that Germany is the only European country still "occupied" (as demagogues will then say) by foreign troops? Will growing numbers of Germans then begin to take exception to the remaining limitations on their national sovereignty?

And what will be the German and Russian reaction to the suction effect of a Central Europe that remains a geopolitical vacuum? Is that what Russia's minister of foreign affairs had in mind when last December he eulogized his German counterpart with the vision of a special "axis" between Germany and Russia "in the construction of a new Europe?"

The answers will be shaped by what happens in Europe and in Russia and how America reacts. If Europe enlarges, deepens its unity and widens its security perimeter, there are good prospects for Germany to remain a good citizen as well as the leader of a Europe that was politically balanced by France and Poland. It would expand the scope of Europe and enhance security on the whole continent.

German leaders are aware of this historic opportunity. That is why some of them have been willing to take the lead in urging the eastward expansion of the European Union and NATO. France and Germany are actively exploring Polish membership in the Western European Union, the military arm of the European Union — in all probability ahead of the day when Poland eventually joins NATO.

The gutsy German minister of defense, Volker Rühe, told a conference in Brussels early this year that it is Europe's interest to admit Poland to NATO and the West should firmly state that it is no provocation against Russia for the alliance to proceed accordingly.

That is very much the case now that NATO no longer views Russia as an adversary and has opened its Partnership for Peace to Russian participation.

This goal is not difficult to conceptualize or to attain in practice. Russia should:

- Withdraw its troops from the Baltic republics on schedule, without claiming special privileges for its colonists.

- Accept the reality of Ukraine as a secure, friendly neighbor, politically sovereign but economically a close partner.

- Similarly, respect the political sovereignty of the new republics in the ex-Soviet Union while pursuing deeper economic cooperation with them.

- Tolerate rather than obstruct the desire of Central Europeans to belong to both the European Union and NATO.

However, Russia — unlike Germany — has yet to demonstrate that truly means to be a good citizen of Europe.

True, its leading politicians often speak of Russia as belonging to Europe and even possibly joining NATO. But at the same time they make outlandish statements about Russia's "unique Eurasian mission" and assert a special right to use military force anywhere within the entire space of the defunct Soviet Union. Simultaneously they clamor for status as a global power

make it an extension of European civilization. In addition, this Russia can be America's colleague in the wider quest for international security, which then becomes a more truly shared interest of both nations.

A Russia willing to become a good neighbor should be given other incentives:

- An offer by NATO of a special treaty of friendship and alliance with Russia at the same time as the alliance expands its membership eastward into Central Europe. The treaty between NATO and Russia (even if Russia fails short of U.S. hopes for its democratic evolution) would dilute the Western character of the European community and the American preponderance within the alliance.

- A French-German-Polish coalition would provide a mighty inner core for a larger Europe. It would further affirm a historically positive role for an economically powerful, politically constructive and truly European Germany. Such a tripartite strategic coalition — incorporating 175 million citizens (more than Russia) — would be economically driven by Germany that was politically balanced by France and Poland. It would expand the scope of Europe and enhance security on the whole continent.

- A European Union would be an oxymoron instead of a European Union. NATO with Russia would become simply another version of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose credibility has been undermined by a pretense of being able to operate effectively from Vancouver to Vladivostok among 53 nations in diverse stages of democratization and development.

- Russia must be faced: Instead of perpetuating the illusion that Russia — someday, somehow — will join the West's core political institutions, it is far more important to define what it means for Russia to become a good neighbor for Europe and eventually a partner for the United States in the enhancement of global stability.

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forcing Washington to contemplate the possibility that European unity and security might be forged without active U.S. engagement — and thus at some cost to the intimacy of the U.S.-European connection.

That prospect might reawaken American policy toward Europe from the generally dormant condition that has existed since the Soviet collapse.

Just as President George Bush found his crowning achievement in overcoming Soviet objections to the inclusion of a united Germany in NATO, President Bill Clinton could make his principal legacy in foreign affairs the inclusion of Central Europe in a larger NATO, with Russia linked to the alliance by a special treaty.

A deliberative U.S. policy to achieve this goal will require greater strategic vision than demonstrated so far by this administration.

Mr. Clinton's antennae are more sensitive to domestic political signals than to those from abroad. Happily, bipartisan pressures are mounting in Washington in favor of a more ambitious effort to define the scope of European security and its meaning for the United States.

Early this year the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 94 to 3, adopted a resolution favoring NATO's eastward expansion. The upcoming congressional elections are already starting to generate further demands along these lines.

Absent though they may be from the Normandy festivities, the Germans and the Russians are likely to loom large in the thoughts of Mr. Clinton and other leaders gathered there. They will provide a timely reminder about the need for greater geopolitical imagination in shaping Europe's security.

Trial of Ally Wouldn't Upset His Plans, Berlusconi Says

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ROME — The prime minister-designate, Silvio Berlusconi, shrugging off a corruption case involving Umberto Bossi, a key ally, has promised to form a government within a week.

"We will begin discussing the list of ministers on Tuesday evening," he said in an interview carried by several Italian newspapers on Sunday.

The government should be ready within a week." Mr. Berlusconi said he did not think that a request by Milan magistrates on Saturday to try Mr. Bossi, the leader of the Northern League, for illicit party financing would upset his plans.

The federal League is set to enter government for the first time as part of the Berlusconi-led Freedom Alliance although Mr. Bossi is apparently not under consideration for a cabinet post.

"I don't think Bossi's problem should damage us," he said. "The political beliefs of our parliamentary majority and people's desire for change remain unaltered."

Mr. Bossi, who had no immediate response to the magistrates' assertions, was accused of taking about \$130,000 in illicit contributions during his 1992 election campaign. In the past, he has denied any wrongdoing. His Northern League owes much of its support to its condemnations of graft and promises of clean government.

(Reuters, NYT)

Germany and U.S. Need Each Other

A Binding Alliance, Through NATO, Is a Key to Stability

By Michael Stürmer

Special to the Herald Tribune

The writer is a history professor and head of the SfH Wissenschaft und Politik, a think tank in Ebenhausen, near Munich, that does work for the German government and Bundestag.

The D-Day commemoration, obeying the law of unintended consequences, will surely impress participating leaders and the global television audience less with past glories and more with the dramatic reversals in geopolitical fortunes of the warning nations.

In June 1944, Grossdeutschland and Imperial Japan were waiting for the final crushing blows in the total war they would soon lose. They had just been officially cast as the "enemy nations" in a new world order embodied in the United Nations Charter. Today, these two nations are major, respected mainstays of the world's well-being.

Of all the the victors in Europe, only one is still recognizable as a major power: the United States. Three times in this century it has intervened, twice to tilt the scales decisively against Germany. Only the third, at the outbreak of the Cold War, did Washington construct stability in Europe around the centerpiece of Germany. Again now, the U.S. role will be crucial in salvaging what stability can be saved in post-Cold War Europe.

Fifteen years on, the country that has changed the least, the United States and the country that has changed the most, Germany, need to recognize their overriding common interest in creating a new trans-Atlantic alliance.

This new challenge requires that public opinion in America, prompted by the political class, recognize its wider interests in a reasonably orderly world where Americans travel, do business and live in peace. Without this realization and a new commitment to maintaining a minimal international system, the United States may quickly revert to de facto isolation.

American strategists made no bones about their needs. Without the strategic depth of German territory between the Elbe and Rhine rivers, any Western defense against a Soviet assault would have amounted to little more than a rear-guard action on the beaches.

When the Washington treaty pledging mutual defense was signed in April 1949, President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson bluntly told Allied leaders — no Germans were present since as yet they had no government of their own — that Germany and Japan had to be given places in the democratic West because, without a satisfactory solution,

the Germans might be vulnerable to Soviet blandishments aimed at seducing them and helping communism enslave the West irreversibly.

Washington found European alternatives soft-headed. France's hopes of imposing permanent neutrality on its down-but-not-out neighbor amounted to an invitation for Germans to start playing off East and West against each other. London's notions of inciting the ruling British Labor Party's values in Germany — that Germany was abastard because American taxpayers were never going to subsidize the export of socialism.

U.S. authority made the other Allies acquiesce in Germany's gradual return to sovereignty. This U.S. approach provided an invaluable by-product in forcing Western Europe's governments to pursue a less fragmented approach to economic recovery and eventually political integration. Starting with the Marshall Plan, economic cooperation became the formula of European integration — and incidentally a handy answer for governments, including successive regimes in Bonn, for dismissing worries about Germany's growing weight.

This approach to Europe's re-emergence carried a hidden price: continuing dependence on U.S. leadership. West Germany was not a country in search of a foreign policy but a by-product of U.S. foreign policy. The other European countries never developed a plausible design for recreating a Europe capable of being a world player.

In contrast, Washington pursued an unwavering strategy on Germany's role in Europe. The reunification negotiations in 1990 — despite the misnomer of "Two-Plus-Four" to mean the two Germanys plus the three victorious Western powers and the Soviet Union — actually had a simple political arithmetic: The United States pressed through unification, overriding other participants' objections and even some hesitations in Bonn.

Europeans need to grasp that the United States always acted in Europe in ways that coincide with American interests. When Washington looks at post-Cold War Europe, it is not interested in a power balance among European nations or even between Europeans and Russians. Only one risk arises in Soviet minds concerning Washington: Russia is the sole country that could foreseeably threaten the United States with nuclear destruction.

As a maritime power, the United States also has an interest in making sure that the European coastline opposite its own eastern seaboard, does not fall into hostile hands. That explains why Washington, in proposing to widen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's role in the North Atlantic, offered to open the alliance to participation of the Americas.

The enormous complexity of forging a new Atlantic link — so different from the task of postwar reconstruction — can be measured by recalling the Pan-American that unleashed "Western energy" for a half-century. In practice,

"Western energy" was a protege, constructed on

the basis of the European Union's "strategic partnership" with the United States.

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"Western energy" was a protege, constructed on

the basis of the European Union's "strategic partnership" with the United States.

As a maritime power, the United States also has an interest in making sure that the European coastline opposite its own eastern seaboard, does not fall into hostile hands. That explains why Washington, in proposing to widen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's role in the North Atlantic, offered to open the alliance to participation of the Americas.

Gorazde Horror Exaggerated, A Senior UN Officer Asserts

By Roger Cohen
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — After a weeklong review of the Bosnian Serbian assault on Gorazde, a senior United Nations military officer has concluded that reports by UN relief workers and others substantially exaggerated the fighting and casualties there.

The senior UN officer said that damage to the Gorazde hospital and other buildings was not as great as had been suggested and that reports of 700 dead and up to 2,000 wounded were inflated with a view to stirring up international outrage.

"Reports on Gorazde were deliberately exaggerated in order to shame the world into doing something," said the officer, who has been to Gorazde and seen the UN reports. "The attacks were not of

the dimensions suggested. A false impression was given to the international community to help stir the vision of the Bosnian Serbs as the enemy and, unfortunately, all this very nearly went out of control."

During the three-week Serbian assault, which halted a week ago Saturday, reports from Gorazde came chiefly from a handful of United Nations military observers and relief workers with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, who were there when the attack began, as well as from Bosnian Muslim ham radio operators.

Journalists were not able to reach the town and have been barred from it by Bosnian Serbian authorities since the fighting stopped.

The senior UN military officer suggested that the military observers were of a low standard, that the

relief workers were overly emotional in their accounts, and that the ham radio operators were not trustworthy.

A big problem is that the Muslims believe they can bring the Americans into this war," the officer said. "A dangerous overreaction was stirred up in international capitals. The talk of water use of NATO air power, hitting ammunition dumps and infrastructure went well across the line that would have turned the UN forces here into combatants."

The remarks by the UN officer were unusually forthright and amounted to a statement that President Bill Clinton had been wrong to press for wider air strikes. They tended to support longstanding assertions by the Bosnian Serbs that the chief goal of the Muslim-led Bosnian government is to steer international opinion to such a pitch of outrage over the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims that the United States and NATO will come in and fight on the Bosnian side.

On touring Gorazde, the officer said he found the hospital, which had been described as being virtually destroyed, operative with just one shell through the roof. There was no evidence of 700 corpses, he said.

But the officer's account appeared at conflict with other reports still emerging from Gorazde and to play down the overall suffering that seems to have been inflicted on the population of the town.

According to the Sarajevo ultimatum, all Serbian heavy weapons leaving Bosnia's capital were to be either pulled back 20 kilometers from the city or placed under UN control.

UN officials said Serbian forces were also blocking UN military observers, who under the ultimatum should have complete access to Serbia's held territory within the 20-kilometer zone, including the most strategically important part of Serbia's territory, to the north of the capital where the bulk of the Serbian heavy weapons had been deployed.

The United Nations' inability to adopt a consistent policy to confront the Serbs on these matters has created an environment in Bosnia where the Serbs are encouraged to push and probe the United Nations. Everything appears to be negotiable and thus ultimately up for grabs. Such an atmosphere has already affected peace negotiations designed to bring an end to Europe's worst conflict since World War II.

BOSNIA: Assault by UN Tanks

Continued from Page 1
Battalion, routinely take a robust approach to Serbian attacks and have little compunction about firing in self-defense.

The Serbs didn't miss the tanks on purpose," said Commander Eric Chaperon, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force. "They were trying to show us away."

In Gorazde, UN strategy has been more inconsistent than in other trouble spots.

On Friday in Gorazde, British troops, also known for their aggressiveness, fired on Serbian soldiers after the Serbian troops attacked them, UN officials said. The Bosnian-Serbian command said three Serbian soldiers died in the clash. At the same time, however, the UN operation continues to tolerate the presence of armed Serbian gunmen inside a zone that NATO's order on April 22 said must be cleared of Serbian troops and heavy weapons.

Under the terms of that ultimatum, Serbian forces were to withdraw 3 kilometers from the city's center while their heavy guns were supposed to be pulled back 20 kilometers. But several score of heavily armed Serbian "policemen" continue to occupy a hamlet, Zupci, inside the 3-kilometer zone.

In Sarajevo, UN policy appears passive at best.

UN officials in the last week have reported that Serbs have returned at least 15 Serbian heavy

weapons, including three to five tanks, to areas around the city, in direct violation of the NATO ultimatum in February. The officials said that negotiations were being undertaken to get the Serbs to move the guns back under UN control, but that air strikes, authorized under the ultimatum, were not being contemplated.

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Armed soldiers escorting election officials who were taking ballot boxes to Johannesburg for counting on Sunday.

VOTE: ANC Predicts 'Big Victory,' but May Not Get Two-Thirds Majority

Continued from Page 1

girl were killed in the region overnight, but security forces were unable to say if their deaths were connected with the election.

The new, 400-seat Parliament will elect a president on May 6, setting the stage for Mr. Mandela to replace Mr. de Klerk. Mr. de Klerk is expected to be a vice president.

The Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose followers have been fighting a township war with their ANC rivals, had only 4.5 percent of the vote, slightly ahead of the white separatist Freedom Front with 3.7 percent.

One of the surprisingly poor showings came from the Pan-African Congress, a militant black group that campaigned on promises to seize land from the white minority and give it to blacks. Despite this, the party had less than 2 percent of the national vote.

"I think they had quite a lot of

analys Sample Terreblanche, referring to the proportional representation method that allocates Parliament and cabinet seats according to each party's vote total. With 5 percent needed to win a Cabinet seat, the ANC and the National Party appeared headed for a sweep.

exposure, but their leader can't be compared with Mr. Mandela," said Eugene Terreblanche, the leader of the extreme right Afrikaner Resistance Movement. "And perhaps their campaign was a hit too radi-

cal. It was too one-sided, concentrating only on land. It's of no use in a modern industrialized country, to talk only about land."

(Reuters, AP)

For Whites, Western Cape May Be Final Stronghold

Reuters

CAPE TOWN — The Western Cape, where white settlement of South Africa began more than three centuries ago, may emerge from the country's all-race elections as the final toe-hold of white control in Africa.

President Frederik W. de Klerk's predominantly white National Party is confident of winning the Western Cape. Latest results gave the National Party 433,110 votes and the African National Congress, of Nelson Mandela 161,615 in the provincial race, according to the independent Election Commission.

"After a bruising battle for the votes of the province's huge mixtures, of colored population, the party's hard-line law and order minister, Herman Kriele, said Sunday: "Yes, I think we're going to win. I'm very confident."

He will become regional premier if the National Party does win.

Vote counting in Mitchells Plain, where nearly half the province's 2.3 million voters live in black and colored townships, began only on midmorning on Sunday. An election official said final results there might not be announced until Monday morning.

The National Party, which institutionalized apartheid and was finally forced to dismantle it, targeted the votes of the "Cape Coloreds" in its campaign. They form nearly 60 percent of the Western Cape electorate. Better off and less harshly treated than blacks under apartheid, many fear they will suffer discrimination from an ANC-led government.

MANDELA: Laying Out Themes

Continued from Page 1

defeated parties form the opposition.

"I do not think that we need a government of national unity beyond five years, especially if we are able to build this environment of mutual trust," he said.

Asked how his government would react if, as has happened in recent months, homeless blacks occupied houses built for others, Mr. Mandela said this white fear was unjustified because blacks would no longer feel unfairly excluded from state housing programs.

On the question of an amnesty,

Mr. Mandela has divided offenders into three categories.

Under an agreement with the current government, anyone who committed a crime with a political motive before October 1990 may obtain an automatic indemnity by applying to a commission.

Those involved in political crimes up until last December must apply to the new parliament case by case, but Mr. Mandela said he would personally favor absolving them.

No one who continued illegally obstructing the transition this year, he said, should be pardoned.

Je's Banned, Libyans Decide To Take Camels

Reuters

CAIRO — A camel caravan of Libyans, protesting a United Nations ban on flights to and from their country, has started a journey to Mecca.

The Libyan Relations Bureau, or embassy, in Cairo said the caravan, with about 110 people taking turns to ride about 60 camels, would cross the border with Egypt within the next few days.

The Libyans will then sail from Suez to Jidda, the port of the holy Muslim city of Mecca, Libyan sources added. But it was not clear whether they will reach Mecca in time for the pilgrimage, which starts on May 20. It is more than 750 kilometers (460 miles) from the Libyan border with Egypt and a two-day journey by ship from Suez to Jidda.

The United Nations banned flights to and from Libya in April 1992 because the Libyan government refused to hand over two Libyans accused of blowing up a Pan Am plane over Scotland. The United Nations said the men should face trial in Britain or the United States.

A Year in Prison For Egypt Editor

Reuters

CAIRO — A military court in the first trial of a journalist in over a decade sentenced Abdessatar Abu Hussein, a military editor for the opposition newspaper Al-Shaab, to one year in prison for revealing state secrets in an article about Egyptian-U.S. military exercises.

The journalist was also fined Egyptian £500 (\$143) in the ruling on Saturday. There is no appeal against military court verdicts, but Mr. Hussein can petition the defense minister for a retrial. He has been freed pending this move.

A newspaper spokesman said the article, published in April, was about the joint exercises, codenamed Bright Star. He said the court rejected defense pleas that the article was based on statements made last year by Defense Minister Field Marshal Mohammed Taguawi and carried by all Egyptian papers. It also rejected the argument that it was unconstitutional to try journalists and civilians in military courts.

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U.S. Cool on Direct Action in Rwanda

By Paul Lewis
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Clinton administration officials say they are examining the idea of helping to organize and pay for military intervention in Rwanda by neighboring African countries. But they have apparently rejected any direct U.S. action.

The UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, made an appeal over the weekend for more "forceful action" in Rwanda intended to "restore law and order and stop the massacres."

But administration officials said that with the United States and other Western countries determined not to become directly involved in the civil war, the only alternatives are to do nothing or encourage African states to intervene, possibly offering financial and logistical help. U.S. officials stressed that administration thinking was at a preliminary stage.

But it remained unclear whether other African states would be willing to mount any kind of new peace enforcement operation in Rwanda, particularly after the setbacks the United Nations suffered in Somalia last year.

The fighting in Rwanda, which broke out after the country's president and the president of Burundi were killed in a mysterious plane crash on April 6, has left an estimated 200,000 dead and sent thousands of refugees pouring into neighboring countries.

Most of the refugees appear to be members of the majority Hutu tribe, traditional enemies of the Tutsi, said Sylvana Foa, a spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The UN Security Council asked Mr. Boutros Ghali to consult with the Organization of African Unity on ways of restoring law and order in Rwanda and asked him to take "diplomatic steps" to prevent chaos from spreading to other countries.

It also asked him to propose ways of funding our who was responsible for particular massacres.

The secretary-general called President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, as president of the Organization of African Unity, on Saturday, asking him to prepare a plan for ending the crisis that the United Nations could then endorse.

Several Western diplomats said they thought it likely that nearby African states might intervene to end the killing in Rwanda if given help, especially if the massacres continue. But they said it is inconceivable that any Western country

would agree to send its own forces into Rwanda at present.

Instead they saw the secretary-general's appeal for more forceful action as an attempt to shift some of the pressure he is under to do something about Rwanda onto the Security Council's shoulders, since there is nothing he personally can do about the crisis.

Several precedents exist for such regional intervention. A Nigerian-led West African peacekeeping force is currently deployed in Liberia as part of efforts to end the civil war in that country.

In addition, chapter eight of the UN Charter specifically instructs regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, to try to preserve peace and security in their regions before referring disputes to the Security Council.

Rwandan Refugees Inundate Camp

The Associated Press

NGARA, Tanzania — Overwhelmed relief workers struggled Sunday to cope with a quarter-million rain-soaked refugees who found sanctuary from the bloodbath in Rwanda at a crowded camp in Tanzania.

"It is quite a mess," said Dr. Etienne Krug, the medical coordinator at the camp. "Two hundred and fifty thousand people is like a small city, and we have nothing organized."

Thousands of refugees who made it into Tanzania before Rwandan rebels sealed the border Saturday were still trudging in the rain Sunday, walking the 17 kilometers (10 miles) from the frontier to the camp. Their destination was a rolling open field of scrub and head-high elephant grass, where the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees has established the camp.

On hand to care for the tens of thousands already there were only 30 to 40 UN workers and Tanzanian Red Cross staff members, the Spanish branch of Doctors Without Borders and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Dr. Krug, a doctor with the UN, said relief workers were digging latrines and trying to set up a water and food distribution system, dispensaries and a measles vaccination program.

"We can cope for the first week," Dr. Krug said. "The food will arrive. But it is difficult. The roads are in poor condition. We need an enormous amount of trucks. We need a lot of help."

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20 Militants Killed in Algeria

Reuters

TUNIS — Algerian security forces have killed 20 armed Muslim militants in the last four days, the official press agency APS said Saturday. The 20 were slain in different regions during security checks.

BUSINESS

دكتور الراحل

International Herald Tribune, Monday, May 2, 1994

Page 9

CAPITAL MARKETS

Japan Is Holding the Dice As the Markets Get Jostled

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Imagine a trio playing Monopoly. One player red, yellow and green properties at the top and side of the board and at each go-around collects substantial rents from the opponents. A player called America holds the most expensive — but rarely landed on — Boardwalk and Park Place along with a string of cheap properties at the bottom of the board and lays out far more in rent, particularly to Japan, than can be collected.

Europe, holding all the utilities and the mid-priced orange-colored landings, barely covers spending with income.

The frustration of the game is that Japan constantly gets richer. But the real rub is the way it throws the dice — invariably succeeding in skipping over Boardwalk and Park Place, and rarely landing on the orange properties.

Now move from an imaginary game to the real world. Japan is accumulating an enormous trade surplus — as it has for most of the past decade. Whether it plays fair in the way it amasses the surplus is moot. But up to now it has managed to circulate its wealth — not through the ideal way of importing foreign goods, but by means of capital outflows investing in plant and equipment abroad and purchasing foreign financial assets.

Today, even that once mighty capital outflow has trickled to insignificance.

Ask any foreign-exchange trader why the dollar is weak, and the answer will start with the dollar-yen relationship and worries that the U.S.-Japan trade dispute weakens the dollar.

Washington is perceived as encouraging a lower value of the dollar as a means of prying concessions from Tokyo, while worries about the unending appreciation of the yen oblige Japanese investors — who have already suffered huge exchange losses on their foreign assets — to now keep their money home.

The dollar's performance against the Deutsche mark is influenced by the yen. The dollar cannot fall against the yen and rise against the mark without completely distorting the yen-mark rate. In addition, an ongoing reappraisal of German growth prospects and expected (rising) U.S. and (falling) German inflation rates is weighing on the dollar.

But the yen is the nexus. A strengthening of the dollar against the yen would facilitate a rise against the mark and all the other European currencies linked to it.

Unlike Monopoly, where frustrated players can call it quits or start again, the pressures in the real world continue to build.

"It's a volcano waiting to erupt," warn Brendan Brown, London-based analyst at Mitsubishi Finance. Japan cannot go on

See MARKETS, Page 11



THE TRIB INDEX

International Herald Tribune
World Stock Index, composed of 260 internationally investable stocks from 25 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News.

Week ending April 29, daily closings. Jan. 1992=100.

Asia/Pacific

Europe

North America

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Industrial Sectors/Weekend close

Capital Goods

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Interest Rates

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Compiled by Laurence Desvillettes

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Fixed-Coupons						
Abbey National Sterling Capital	£150	2004	8%	100.87	—	Reoffered at 99.337. Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Worborg.)
Cable & Wireless Int'l Finance	£200	2019	8%	99.55	—	Reoffered at 97.66. Noncallable. Fees 2.5%. Denominations £10,000. (SocGen Manag.)
Eastern Electricity	£350	2004	8%	101.24	—	Reoffered at 99.595. Callable anytime. Fees 2%. (Barclays de Zoete Wedd.)
Belgium	FF 5,000	2002	6%	99.55	99.50	Noncallable. Fees 0.30%. (Crédit Commercial de France.)
Eif Aquitaine	FF 1,500	2004	7	100.93	98.95	Reoffered at 99.305. Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Société Générale.)
Volvo Group Finance Europe	FF 1,000	1999	6%	100.85	—	Reoffered at 99.30. Noncallable. Fees 1.5%. (Crédit Lyonnais.)
Ireland	DF 250	2004	6%	100.70	100.00	Reoffered at par. Noncallable. Fees 1%. (Robobank.)
Abbey National Treasury Services	m. 50,000	2004	9%	100.30	99.50	Callable at par from 1994. fungible with outstanding notes, raising total amount to 200,000 billion lire. Fees 2%. (Credito Italiano.)
Boyerische Hypotheiken und Wechselbank	m. 150,000	2004	9%	100.45	99.20	Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Banca Commerciale Italiana.)
LB Schleswig-Holstein	m. 150,000	2004	9%	100.70	99.20	Callable at par from 1997. Fees 2%. (Banca Commerciale Italiana.)
Crédit Local de France	ECU 100	1999	5%	94.81	—	Noncallable. Reoffered at 92.185. fungible with outstanding issue, raising total amount to 400 million Ecu. Fees 1.5%. (Société Générale.)
LB Schleswig-Holstein	CS 150	1996	7%	100.94	99.88	Reoffered at 99.949. Noncallable. Fees 1.5%. (Norura Int'l.)
Toronto	CS 165	2004	8%	100%	98.75	Reoffered at 98%. Noncallable. Fees 2%. (SocGen McLeod.)
ABN-Amro Australia	Aus 75	1999	8	101.20	98.13	Reoffered at 99.225. Noncallable. Fees 2%. (ABN-Amro.)
Cadbury Schweppes Australia	Aus 75	1999	8%	101.69	98.88	Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Barclays de Zoete Wedd.)
Deutsche Bank Australia	Aus \$ 150	1997	7	100%	98.50	Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Deutsche Bank.)
National Australia Bank	Aus \$ 75	1999	8	101.25	98.38	Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Hambros Bank.)
DSL Bank	¥ 10,000	1999	3.0	99.88	—	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. Denominations 10 million yen. (Merrill Lynch Int'l.)
DSL Bank	¥ 30,000	1999	3.0	100	—	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. Denominations 10 million yen. (Merrill Lynch Int'l.)
Inter-American Development Bank	¥ 10,000	2006	4%	100.07	—	Noncallable. Fees not disclosed. Denominations 100 million yen. (Bank of Tokyo Capital Markets.)
Int'l Finance Corp.	¥ 10,000	1998	4%	102.95	—	Noncallable. fungible with outstanding issue, raising total amount to 30 billion yen. Fees not disclosed. (Swiss Int'l.)
Mitsubishi Corp. Finance	¥ 10,000	1995	2.70	100.07	—	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Merrill Lynch Int'l.)
Oesterreichische Kontrollbank	¥ 15,000	1999	3.65	100	—	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. Denominations 100 million yen. (BII Int'l.)
Sweden	¥ 75,000	1999	3%	99.775	99.95	Seasonally. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. Denominations 100 million yen. (Goldman Sachs Int'l.)

MARKETS: Traders See Yen as Nexus of Volatility

Continued from Page 9
accumulating surpluses and at the same time refuse to spend the cash. "Something has to give," he says. It is a matter of "economic arithmetic and logic."

With no immediate prospect of a collapse in the trade surplus, Mr. Brown argues that there are several possible outcomes:

• The yen has to rise so high — say, to a rate of 80 to 90 yen per dollar from the current 101.60 — that Japanese investors perceive no exchange risk in exporting capital.

• Japanese interest rates and bond yields fall so low that Japanese investors are ready to accept the exchange risk for much higher-yielding foreign assets.

• Worries about the exchange rate are eliminated by a resolution of the simmering trade dispute with the United States.

Awaiting the outcome has led to terrific upward pressure on the yen as exporters cash foreign earnings for local currency; domestic investors stay home and foreign investors continue to buy Japanese stocks. The appreciation of the yen has been resisted by heavy daily intervention by the Bank of Japan, which fears that a higher yen will price goods made in Japan out of world markets and add to the slowdown already plaguing the economy.

Meanwhile, the U.S. administration, apparently oblivious to the effects of the globalization of financial markets, has pursued counterproductive policies in the course of the trade dispute because the weak performance of the dollar has contributed to the confusion in American financial markets.

The U.S. bond market has been badly rattled ever since the Federal Reserve Board began raising interest rates in early February and that nervousness is echoed in the performance of the stock market. The bond market had largely been pop-

ulated by U.S. banks, which borrowed low-cost short-term money to buy much higher-yielding bonds. As short-term rates moved up, the banks naturally moved out.

The banks should have been replaced by foreign investors rushing to buy U.S. assets on the expectation that higher interest rates would mean a higher value on the dollar.

Not only has that not happened, but the Fed's water-torture policy of tightening a bit every few weeks has left all potential bond market buyers sidelined by uncertainty about just how far it intends to push up rates. Worse still, the weak dollar — by stimulating growth as a result of increased U.S. exports and raising inflation fears as a result of import prices — threatens to require even stiffer Fed action on interest rates.

This is worrisome, said Mr. Crane. "It says Washington is worried about the effect rather than the cause of the disturbance." He concurred with Mr. Brown that the major instability currently stems from the absence of capital outflows to offset the huge Japanese trade surplus.

"The longer there is a chance of the dollar below 100 yen, the worse the instability," said Mr. Crane. "If it goes below 100, the Japanese will repatriate their funds. They will sell bonds, stocks, land — all U.S. assets. That will escalate the pressure in U.S. financial markets and will require ever greater intervention to stop the dollar from going down to the mid-80s."

Mr. Crane warned that a dollar valued at less than 100 yen would set off triggers for people to do things. There are a lot of currency options that have been written and if we break below 100, the impact of those options would increase — it would accentuate the amount of dollars that would have to be sold in order to neutralize those options.

Therefore the amount of intervention that will have to be done will be greater as well."

He conceded, however, that "if we are headed for the mid-80s then the faster we get there the better." Intervention aimed at slowing the move "only increases the agony," he asserted.

In any event, he forecast a volatile week in the foreign exchange market as operators test for a clarification of U.S. intentions.

Federated Raises Its Bid for Macy

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Ending four months of speculation, Federated Department Stores Inc. unveiled its proposal late Friday for acquiring the rival retailer R.H. Macy & Co., which also submitted a bankruptcy plan.

Federated's proposal for getting Macy out of bankruptcy values the retailer at \$3.51 billion. That is far more than Federated previously indicated it would pay. The higher value seems to show the company's determination to acquire Macy and become one of America's largest department-store operators.

But the Federated bid is predicated on its stock being worth \$25 a share. Using Friday's closing price of \$21.375 for Federated stock, its proposal is currently worth about \$3.3 billion.

Under the reorganization plan, Federated would

pay Macy creditors with a combination of \$1.8 billion of debt and \$925 million of its stock, retaining \$556 million of its shares to "repay" itself for \$449 million of Macy's debt that it holds through a swap.

Although its plan values Macy at about \$150 million less than a competing proposal that Macy submitted Friday, analysts and traders said Federated's proposal was inherently stronger because the market has already established a value for its stock.

Macy gave its creditors a revised plan of reorganization to emerge from bankruptcy that seemed certain to enraged some junior creditors but was intended to neutralize opposition. The total value of the revised Macy proposal changed little from the plan it submitted March 23, but it was apportioned differently among creditors.

(NYT, Bloomberg)

Under the reorganization plan, Federated would

reflect the same value for its stock as the revised Macy plan.

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Under

SPORTS

Nets Fall After Ewing's Ouster Inspires Knicks

The Associated Press

Charles Oakley, drawing energy from a fired-up crowd after Patrick Ewing was ejected, led the New York Knicks to a 90-81 victory over New Jersey on Sunday and a 2-0 lead in their best-of-five playoff series.

Oakley, who had 24 rebounds, scored 14 of his 25 points in the final six minutes of the second quarter. Ten of those points were concentrated in the three minutes after Ewing was ejected from the game after drawing his second

technical foul.

Technical foul. The burst gave New York, playing at home, a 55-33

lead.

The Nets made a game of it in the third quarter, starting with a 21-4 run in the first 5:10 to pull within 5. It was 70-64 after three quarters, but the closest the Nets got in the fourth quarter was 70-66 as they missed their first eight shots of the period.

New Jersey shot just 29 percent from the field, an NBA playoff record low.

Ewing was ejected with 5:21 left in the second period when he and Derrick Coleman exchanged bounces after a Knicks' basket gave them a 41-30 lead. Both were called for technical fouls, but because Ewing also was part of a double technical with Benoit Benjamin in the first quarter, he was tossed from the game.

Kenny Anderson scored 21 points and Coleman had 15 points and 21 rebounds for the Nets, who play host to the Knicks in Game 3 of the series on Wednesday.

Pacers 103, Magic 101: Indiana earned a crucial playoff road victory Saturday by shutting down one of the NBA's highest scoring players: Shaquille O'Neal.

Reggie Miller scored 32 points and the Pacers limited O'Neal to a season-low 15 points in a victory that moved them closer to winning their first NBA playoff series.

The Pacers continually sent O'Neal to the free-throw line. He

finished 3-for-8 from the field and 9-for-18 from the line.

The Pacers, who play host to the Magic on Monday night, led by 9 in the fourth quarter before the Magic rallied, despite playing the first four minutes of the period without O'Neal, who had five fouls.

Dennis Scott, scoreless with seven minutes left in the game, made three 3-pointers and had 11 points down the stretch, including a 3-pointer that cut Indiana's lead to 103-101 with 31 seconds remaining.

Four teams in NBA history have come back from 2-0 deficits to win a five-game series, but only one — the Phoenix Suns last year — were able to do after losing the first two at home.

Jazz 96, Spurs 94: The Jazz limited San Antonio to 25 points in the second and third quarters — including a 16-minute stretch in which they were 0-for-25 — and evened the best-of-five series at 1-1 with a victory in San Antonio. David Robinson, who scored 71 points on April 24 to win the scoring title over O'Neal, finished with just 12 points on 2-for-14 shooting.

Utah, which beat San Antonio five straight times in the regular season before losing Game 1, outscored the Spurs, 30-9, in the second quarter for a 50-33 halftime lead. The Spurs' second-quarter performance was an NBA record low for the second quarter of a playoff game and their final production of 94 points was the record fewest points scored in a playoff game.

"We just fell asleep," said John Lucas, the Spurs' coach. "They flat-out beat us."

The Spurs made just five of 34 shots in the two middle periods, for 14.7 percent shooting.

Robinson twisted his right knee early in the third period, but returned to the game after a brief period on the bench. He is expected to play in Game 3 Tuesday at Salt Lake City.

Hawks 104, Heat 96: In Atlanta, Duane Ferrell came off the bench to score 23 points, 10 of which



Shaquille O'Neal, who was held to 15 points, facing Rick Smits during Orlando's loss to Indiana.

came after his basket and a hard foul by Grant Long ignited a brawl as the Hawks evened the series, 1-1.

Long fouled Ferrell 43 feet left in the third quarter. Ferrell pointed at Long and said something. Long began choking Ferrell, players on the court started pushing and shoving and both benches emptied. Order wasn't restored for at least seven minutes.

Reserves Keith Askins of the Heat and Doug Edwards of Atlanta exchanged punches and were ejected, as was Long.

Ferrell then made his free throw to give Atlanta a 74-66 lead, and Craig Ehlo got 6 of his 10 points in the final 1:28 of the quarter as Atlanta went ahead, 82-71.

Atlanta led, 90-81, with 7:29 left, and Ferrell scored six points in a 13-2 run that widened the lead to 20.

Game 3 is Tuesday night at Miami.

SuperSonics 97, Nuggets 87:

Gary Payton scored 18 points and Sam Perkins hit a critical 3-pointer in the final three minutes as Seattle overcame 27-for-42 free-throw shooting to beat Denver, 97-87, Saturday night. The SuperSonics, playing at home, took a 2-0 lead in their first-round playoff series.

Seattle, the No. 1 seed in the West with an NBA-best 63 regular-season victories, can win the best-of-5 series Monday night at Denver.

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The right-winger scored what proved to be the winning goal in the 25th minute when he received a pass behind the net. Before anyone could react he pushed the puck forward with his stick and sneaked it into the corner by the left post.

The victory gave the Italians four points and with one game to go, they cannot be caught by Austria or Britain, the two bottom teams in Group A. Russia and Canada have already qualified and Germany

Bruins Outskate Devils Behind Casey's 34 Saves

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Bryan Smolinski and David Shaw scored early and Jon Casey and the goaltholders behind him made the lead stand as the Boston Bruins defeated the New Jersey Devils, 2-1, Sunday in Game 1 of their Eastern Conference playoff semifinal.

The opener of the best-of-7 series, in New Jersey, was a disappointment in that both teams seemed to be a little off their games. But maybe that was to be expected with both coming off emotional seventh-game wins Friday, when New Jersey knocked off Buffalo and Boston beat Montreal.

Game 2 will be played here Tues-

day night. While the level of play wasn't spectacular, there was plenty of excitement down the stretch as New Jersey tried to tie the game against Casey, who finished with 34 saves. The Devils came close at least five times.

Casey stopped Claude Lemieux on a short-handed breakaway early in the period and then the goalposts came into play. Randy McKay hit the right one on a breakaway with 15:15 to play. Five minutes later, Bruce Driver hit the left post with a shot from the blue line and Bernie Nicholls, who scored the Devils' goal, was stopped by what appeared to be a combination of Casey's glove and the cross bar on the rebound.

Bruins 3, Red Wings 2: San Jose stunned Detroit to win the seventh game of their Western Conference quarterfinal series on Saturday.

STANLEY CUP PLAYOFFS

completing the greatest single-season reversal in NHL history.

The victory in Detroit sent the Sharks, who won just 11 games last season and finished 16 points behind Detroit this past regular season, to the Conference semifinals. That series begins Monday night.

Jamie Baker gave San Jose the winning margin when he fired a slap shot into a virtual open net with 6:35 left in the third period.

Baker took advantage of a bad clearing pass by Detroit's rookie goaltender Chris Osgood to score the winning goal.

Kevin Constantine coached the Sharks to victory in his rookie season and defeated Detroit's Scotty Bowman, who has more Stanley Cup playoff victories than any coach in NHL history at 140.

Cannucks 4, Flames 3: In Calgary, Pavel Bure's second goal of the game, on a breakaway at 2:30 of

the second overtime, gave the Canucks the victory over Flames on Saturday night in Game 7 of West-

ern Conference quarterfinals.

The Canucks will now travel to Dallas to take on the Stars, who have been idle for a week after sweeping St. Louis in four games.

Bure took a lead pass from Jeff Brown and beat Calgary goaltender Mike Vernon as the Canucks became the 10th team since 1987 to rally from a 3-1 deficit to win a playoff series.

Vancouver's Greg Adams forced the overtime by scoring with 3:37 left in the third period.

Bruins 5, Canadiens 3: In Boston on Saturday, Ted Donato and rookie Fred Knipecheer each had a goal and an assist as the Bruins ousted the defending Stanley Cup champion Canadiens.

The Bruins never trailed after Glen Murray fired a slap shot past Patrick Roy from the top of the right face-off circle at 3:43 of the first period. Donato made it 2-0 with 11:11 left in the second period, just two seconds after Doug Bodger's hooking penalty expired for Buffalo.

(Reuters, AP)

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MONDAY SPORTS

SCOREBOARD

Major League Standings

(Through Saturday)
AMERICAN LEAGUE
East Division

Boston 17 7 W L Pct. GB
Baltimore 15 8 452 .452 1/2

New York 14 10 451 .451 1/2

Toronto 14 10 450 .450 1/2

Detroit 7 14 331 .187

Central Division

Cleveland 13 9 591 .467 1/2

Minnesota 13 9 589 .465 1/2

Chicago 13 10 585 .457 1/2

Kansas City 9 11 456 .375 3

Albuquerque 9 12 455 .375 3

Seattle 10 13 425 .357 5

Texas 9 12 425 .357 5

California 9 13 426 .356 5

Oakland 7 17 327 .273

NATIONAL LEAGUE
East Division

Atlanta 15 8 452 .452 1/2

Montreal 15 8 452 .452 1/2

Florida 12 13 500 .350 3

New York 11 11 505 .305 3

Philadelphia 9 14 476 .276 4

Cincinnati 15 7 482 .482 1/2

St. Louis 12 9 571 .271 2

Houston 13 10 571 .271 2

Pittsburgh 13 10 545 .271 2

Chicago 6 15 388 .175 7

West Division

San Francisco 12 11 522 .272 1

Los Angeles 11 12 479 .247 1

Colorado 10 12 455 .245 1

San Diego 7 17 327 .273

Friday's Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE
East Division

Chicago 10 11 500 .333 3

Detroit 9 11 500 .333 3

Baltimore 10 11 500 .333 3

Minnesota 10 11 500 .333 3

Florida 11 11 505 .333 3

New York 11 11 505 .333 3

Philadelphia 9 14 476 .276 4

Cincinnati 15 7 482 .482 1/2

St. Louis 12 9 571 .271 2

Houston 13 10 571 .271 2

Pittsburgh 13 10 545 .271 2

Chicago 6 15 388 .175 7

West Division

San Francisco 12 11 522 .272 1

Los Angeles 11 12 479 .247 1

Colorado 10 12 455 .245 1

San Diego 7 17 327 .273

NATIONAL LEAGUE
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Montreal 10 11 500 .333 3

Florida 11 11 505 .333 3

New York 11 11 505 .333 3

Philadelphia 9 14 476 .276 4

Cincinnati 15 7 482 .482 1/2

St. Louis 12 9 571 .271 2

Houston 13 10 571 .271 2

Pittsburgh 13 10 545 .271 2

Chicago 6 15 388 .175 7

West Division

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Los Angeles 11 12 479 .247 1

Colorado 10 12 455 .245 1

San Diego 7 17 327 .273

The Michael Jordan Watch

FRIDAY'S GAME: Jordan went 6-for-6 and had two assists in a 3-on-3 game at Hurstville. He had no choices in the outfield.

SATURDAY'S GAME: Jordan went 6-for-6 and had three assists in a 3-on-3 game at Hurstville. He had one error in the field, but made two big outstanding defensive plays.

SEASON TO DATE: Jordan is 16-for-16 (.203) with four runs scored, two doubles, nine RBIs, five walks, 37 strikeouts, seven stolen bases and two errors.

Japanese Leagues

Central League

Yomiuri 14 10 573 .273 1

Chiba Lotte 13 9 570 .270 2

Yokohama 10 9 569 .269 3

Seibu 10 9 568 .268 3

Yomiuri 10 9 567 .267 3

Yomiuri 10 9 566 .266 3

Yomiuri 10 9 565 .265 3

Yomiuri 10 9 564 .264 3

Yomiuri 10 9 563 .263 3

Yomiuri 10 9 562 .262 3

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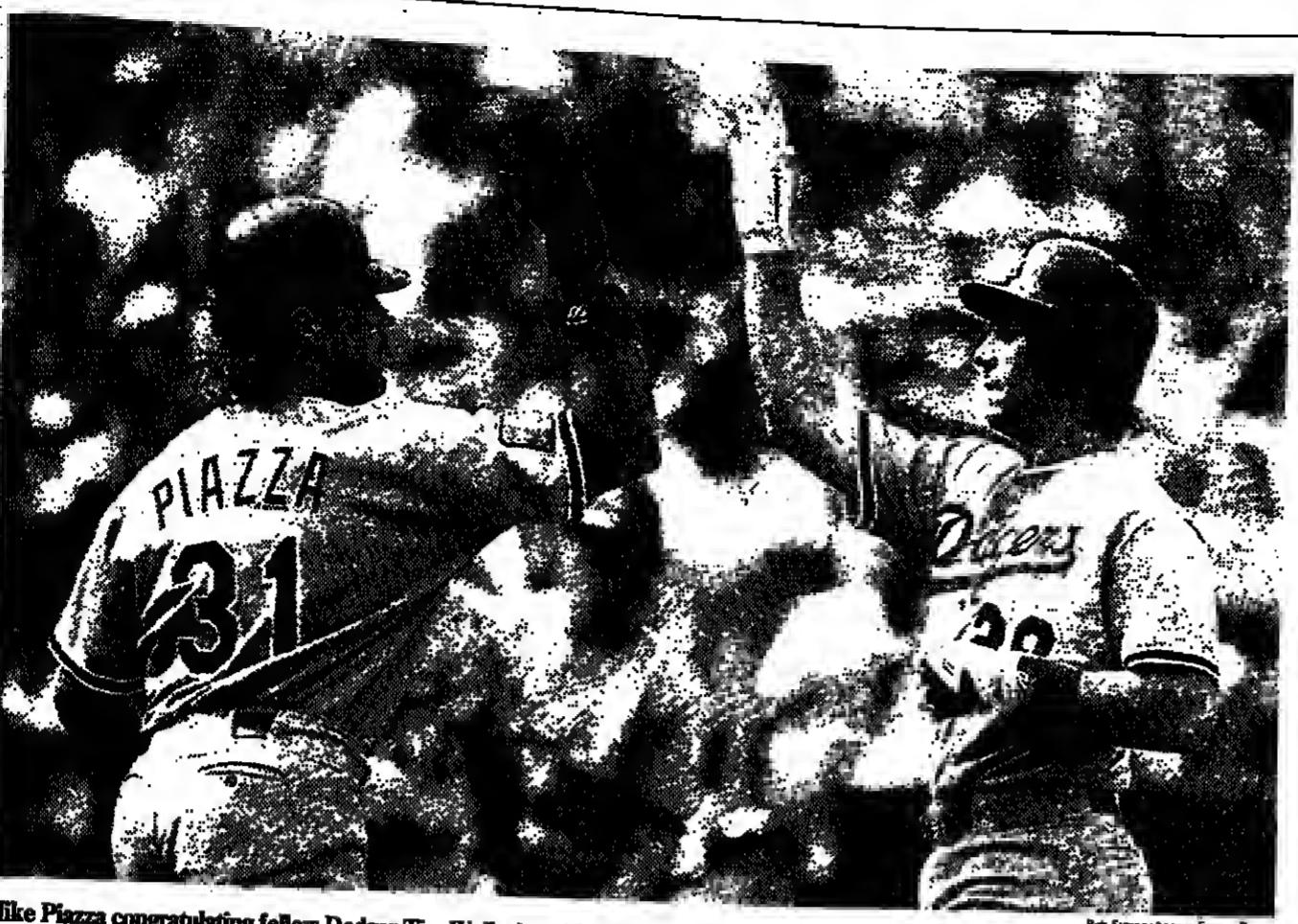
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MONDAY SPORTS

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Mike Piazza congratulates fellow Dodger Tim Wallach on his two-run homer during Los Angeles's victory Saturday over New York.

For Seles, It's Not When, but Whether

The Associated Press

Is the brilliant tennis career of Monica Seles over, destroyed by one moment of insanity and 12 months of mental anguish in the aftermath?

A year after she was stabbed in the back by an obsessed fan of Steffi Graf, the question of when Seles will return is less discussed among tennis players and officials than the question of whether she ever will.

"Nobody really knows," Graf said last week before this year's tournament in Hamburg, where Seles was attacked on court last April 30. "I think it is getting more and more unlikely."

Women's Tennis Association executive director Gerard Smith, at the WTA office in Florida, phrased it a little differently.

"I would say the longer she's out, the more difficult it will be for her to return," Smith said. "I can only imagine that the traumatic impact that the attack must have had on her put everything else into a different perspective."

The WTA, which is seeking new sponsorship for its tour to replace Kraft and Virginia Slims, desperately needs Seles and other marquee players. Jennifer Capriati left the tour to go back to high school, and there are doubts about her motivation to return this summer. Martina Navratilova plans to retire at the end of the year. Gabriela Sabatini hasn't won anything in a couple of years.

Without Seles, women's tennis has virtually turned into the Steffi Graf Tour. Before Graf's defeat Sunday by Arantxa Sanchez Vicario in Hamburg, she had won every match she had played that year, and she has captured four straight Grand Slam titles. The last Grand Slam event Graf lost was the Australian in 1993, when Seles beat her in the final for her eighth Grand Slam title in a career in which she has won \$7.4 million.

Yet, despite the WTA's desire to have Seles back, relations with her have been strained since it decided to protect her No. 1 ranking during her absence.

"I would hope it would not be a factor in her staying away, but at this stage no one rules out anything," said Smith, who hasn't spoken to Seles since the days after the attack.

"We did what we thought was best for women's tennis and for the tour. We tried to evaluate our decision with regard to her request for a co-ranking at No. 1 in the context

Graf is Beaten By Second Seed

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HAMBURG — Arantxa Sanchez Vicario dramatically restored interest in the women's tennis circuit on Sunday with an upset victory over Steffi Graf in the Hamburg women's final.

Graf, unbeaten this year in the absence of Monica Seles, went down 4-6, 7-6 (7-3), 7-6 (8-6) to the second-seeded Spaniard, whose boundless energy eventually prevailed.

"It's definitely my most satisfying comeback because she's the number one player in the world and didn't lose a match for a long time," said Sanchez Vicario, who slumped to the court in delight after the three-hour marathon.

After the match, Graf said she had not been happy with her performances on clay so far this year. "I should be further along considering the extent of my training in the past weeks," she said.

(Reuters, AFP)

of how it would affect everyone. We came to the conclusion that providing her with a co-ranking for an unlimited amount of time would be inappropriate. And if anything the length of time she's been out suggests that was correct."

At the U.S. Open last summer, Smith suggested to the WTA board of directors that Seles be given special seeding considerations if she returned. He's since changed his mind.

"I now believe that even a special seeding consideration is inappropriate," he said. "As of this week, she's been off the tour for a year, and now she'll have to play her way back, in my view."

Sports psychologist Jim Loehr, who has worked with Seles and known her since her early years in tennis, believes she's feeling uncomfortable with the way the entire episode was handled.

"First of all, that a fan could get to her that easy, some nut, she felt that wasn't right," Loehr said. "Then the WTA didn't protect her ranking the way she felt it should, and

then thirdly, the guy that actually committed the diabolical act received a suspended sentence, and she felt almost like three strikes and you're out."

A German judge decided on Oct. 13, 1993, to a mere two years' probation.

"I think it left a very bitter taste in her mouth, and she already had reached her greatest dreams," Loehr said. "The only thing that's left is a Grand Slam. She'd reached the No. 1 spot in the world, her whole life had been tennis, and this kind of took the joy and fun out of it."

Loehr believes that "the longer she stays out, the greater the risk is that she won't come back."

The one-inch (2.5 centimeter) wound just below Seles' left shoulder blade is long healed, she has regained mobility in her arm, and she is physically stronger overall as the result of intense rehabilitation and workouts with Olympic track gold medalist Jackie Joyner-Kersee. Still, Seles wrote recently in Tennis magazine, "There is definitely something in me that I haven't tapped. I look at Steffi and Martina and it makes me think that somehow, I'm not there yet."

Seles practices tennis at her home in Sarasota, Florida, working on aspects of her game that she had never developed, like volleys. She talks about coming back, acts as if she will. Yet, like the rest of the tennis world, even she wonders whether she still has the drive and tenacity that distinguished her game, separating her from all her rivals in her refusal to yield on court.

At 20, she's catching up on things in life that once eluded her, tackling James Joyce's novel "Ulysses," painting, going to the movies, traveling to visit friends. And, as much as anything, looking inside herself for direction.

"I've had a lot of time to think since that day, and a lot of time to decide what my priorities are," she said. "So when I play tennis again, I have to play it for the right reason. I don't want to play to get my No. 1 ranking back. I don't want to play for the attention, or to earn more. I don't even want to play because the world wants to see me do it, even though it's nice to know that the world is interested. I only want to play because I love the game, which is the reason I began to play at age 7 in the first place."

Cal Eldred got rocked for four runs in the first, Gaett's single brought in Brent Mayne and Brian McRae, and Jose's double brought in Gaett and Bob Hamelin to hand Cone a 4-0 lead.

Cone, who did not win his fourth game until May 31 last season, gave up five hits and two runs in eight innings. He walked two and struck out four.

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The Indians took a 4-3 lead into the ninth, but their bullpen blew the save for the eighth time in 16 chances this year.

Derek Lillquist gave up a lead-off double to Manuel Lee, who moved to third on a fly to right and

Cubs Extend Home Losing Streak

The Associated Press

The Chicago Cubs dropped to 0-10 at Wrigley Field this season, matching the longest home losing streak in team history, when they fell 6-2 Sunday to Howard Johnson and the Colorado Rockies.

The Cubs are the only club in the majors winless at home this year. The only other time they lost 10 in a row at Wrigley Field was in 1974.

Anthony Young took the loss, giving up four hits in 6½ innings. Pinch-hitter Nelson Liriano and Mike Kingery each hit a two-run singles during a four-run seventh.

Marvin Freeman gave up five hits in six innings. Steve Reed pitched two hitless innings and Bruce Ruffin worked the ninth.

Mets 9, Reds 4: In Miami, Gary Sheffield hit his major league-leading 11th home run as Florida took a nine-run lead after two innings and beat Cincinnati, giving

The Braves have lost eight of 10 with a solo shot, all during an eight-inning rally that sent Los Angeles Dodgers over the Mets, 12-10, on Saturday in New York. Wallach also hit a two-run homer in the sixth as Los Angeles began to rally from a 5-0 deficit. The Dodgers trailed, 10-5, in the eighth and had two outs and a runner on before breaking loose.

Bobby Bonilla, Todd Hundley and Jeremy Burnitz each homered for the Mets. Bonilla had four hits.

Expos 5, Padres 3: At Montreal, Pedro Martinez touched off a bench-clearing brawl by brushing back Derek Bell with a high fastball that wound up to the winning pitcher in the Montreal's victory over San Diego.

Mariners 9, Reds 4: In Miami, Gary Sheffield's 10th homer snapped a 3-3 tie in the fifth inning. Sheffield has hit home runs in seven of the past eight games at Joe Robbie Stadium.

Dave Weathers won his fourth straight start. He gave up three runs, all of them unearned, and nine singles in 7 2/3 innings.

Marlins 2, Braves 1: At Pittsburgh, Denny Neagle outpitched two-time Cy Young Award winner Greg Maddux as the Pirates beat the Braves for the fourth time in five games.

Al Martin and Jay Bell drove in third-inning runs as the Pirates continued to baffle both the Braves and Maddux.

Astros 15, Cardinals 5: Jeff Bagwell and Steve Finley each homered, drove in four runs and scored three times, powering a 20-hit attack for the Astros at home.

Pete Harnisch gave up one run and three hits in six innings before leaving because of the flu. He helped himself with a double and single, and scored twice.

For St. Louis, Allen Watson lasted only four innings, giving up five runs and seven hits,

Leius Comes Up Big as Twins Beat Jays

The Associated Press

Scott Leius hit a key home run for the second straight game, this time a three-run shot to cap a four-run seventh inning Sunday, leading the Minnesota Twins past the visiting Toronto Blue Jays, 7-3.

Carl Willis allowed two runs in three innings in relief of Twins starter Pat Mahomes.

Chuck Knoblauch began Minnesota's seventh with a one-out single off Woody Williams. Alex Cole and Kirby Puckett walked to load the bases, and Dave Winfield gave the Twins a 3-2 lead with a sacrifice fly caught in foul territory by left fielder Carlos Delgado.

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